Volume XCIII No. 12 December 18, 1970 40 cents

commonweal

DOES

ECONOMICS DESERVE A NOBEL PRIZE?

And, incidentally, does Paul Samuelson?

MICHAEL HUDSON

CANADIAN OVERKILL

WILL J. EDGAR PUT UP OR SHUT UP?

A FEW KIND WORDS FOR PORNO RESEARCHERS

EUGENE KENNEDY

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY

ROBERT KUTTNER

WILLMOORE KENDALL & THE CULT OF 1776

GARRY WILLS

SCREEN: LEAN YEARS

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

LETTERS: IS SCIENCE STOPPABLE?

SHOWING THE FLAG

PETER STEINFELS

CATECHETICS, R.I.P.

Warning: this discipline self-destructs

GABRIEL MORAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

J. Edgar, Dan and Phil

That's not pious outcry issuing from the Catholic dissident community over J. Edgar Hoover's allegation of an "incipient plot," led by the Berrigans, to kidnap a White House aide and carry out other exotic acts as a means toward ending the bombing and freeing political prisoners.

It's genuine indignation — and wonderment as to what in the hell Hoover is up to.

There's the surface explanation that Hoover was merely scaring the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee out of $14.15 million for 1,000 additional FBI agents and 702 clerks. It's a tidy theory, as there's a direct input output equation: an infusion of fear for an acquisition of funds and personnel. But no one's buying that completely.

There's also the Justice Department story that Hoover inadvertently leaked, perhaps confusedly, an investigation which Justice had begun into an alleged plot to kidnap Henry Kissinger. But that's not totally convincing either.

Dissidents see too many other possibilities; to wit:

—That Hoover was settling scores wih the Berrigans, Dan particularly, for the embarrassment his four months in the underground caused the FBI;

—That Hoover was laying down another Administration smokescreen to cover up the escalations in Indochina;

—That Hoover was out to discredit the Flower City Conspiracy defendants on trial in Rochester by bandying the name East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives; one Rochester defendant, Ted Glick, is also a member of the East Coast Conspiracy group. (Hoover is presumably extra-interested in the Rochester trial, since the defendants raided FBI as well as Selective Service offices; that's carrying dissent *too* far);

—That Hoover is laying the groundwork for new conspiracy trials.

The theories run on, and only on two details are theorists in agreement:

(1) The style fits the man; Hoover is a manufacturer of paranoia, and he's got adjustments for all situations and types: Martin Luther King, Ramsey Clark, Black Panthers, Catholic priests— you name it;

(2) There is—or *was*—no plot, certainly not in Catholic anti-war circles, to kidnap anyone. Not that the idea might not have been brought up in dissident councils; after all, presidential councils discuss the advisability of preemptive strikes into China and Russia, and JFK is known to have given a hearing to arguments advocating the assassination of Fidel Castro. But there's leagues' distance from random thought to "incipient plot."

As for kidnapping—well it's incomprehensible to link the Berrigans to any such scheme.

What gives kidnapping its force as weapon is the threat of death or bodily harm to the person seized, if . . .

Yet it's common knowledge that the Berrigans never got into building-bombing, for instance, precisely because someone might get killed or injured. Their targets were always property.

It is difficult to believe at this late date in the era of dissent that the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not appreciate the Berrigan distinction between property and persons, and therefore cannot see that, whereas blood pouring and file burning are most possible, kidnapping is someone else's bag.

The ironic thing is that kidnapping may be a lot of people's bag now that J. Edgar Hoover has planted the idea so wildly. The power of suggestion being what it is, he could have every nut in the country plotting a kidnap.

Refinement of War

Atlas, the U.S. monthly which specializes in the "best from the world press," features a piece from the French newsweekly *L'Express* on a quaint "new" American weapon in Vietnam: the flechette dart.

"Fashioned like a harpoon, this projectile burrows itself deeply in the flesh, tearing it to shreds," *L'Express* reports. "These darts, once they have entered a body, can be removed only by an operation." A very delicate operation.

L'Express is appalled by the weapon; so too is *Atlas*, which describes it as "exceedingly vicious."

The fact is that the weapon isn't particularly new. The peace press has been buzzing about the dart for months and months. Back in August Liberation News Service, for one, syndicated a photo of 10 darts alongside a 25-cent piece. The photo was taken in Cambodia in May.

The fact is, secondly, that the dart is even more vicious than either *L'Express* or *Atlas* specifies. It is perhaps the most indiscriminate anti-personnel weapon introduced into Vietnam, not excluding napalm and the 500-pound bomb.

A single 105mm artillery shell will deliver, by count, 9,700 darts!

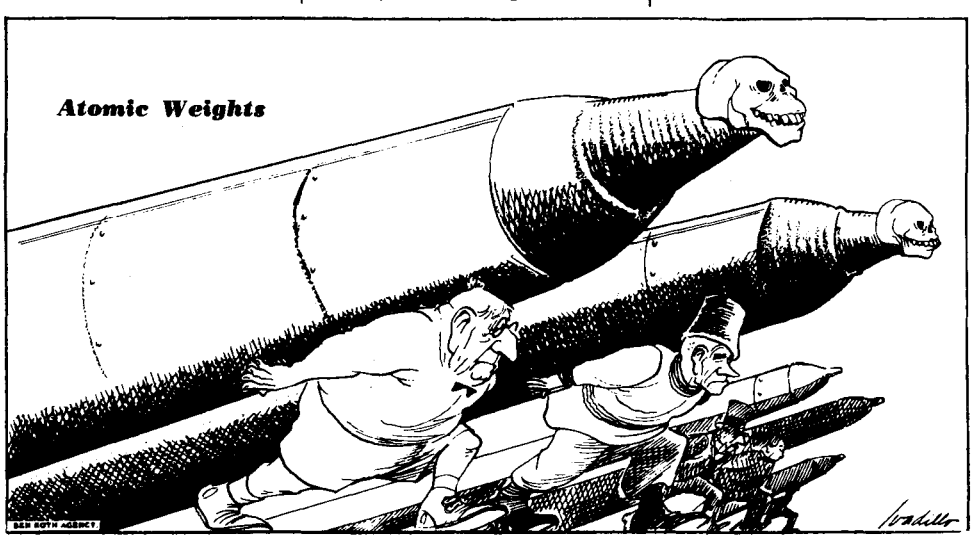
The darts can also be packed into bombs for delivery by air. *L'Express* uncovered 19 victims of the flechette dart 60 miles above the DMZ, "in the very region which the Americans nevertheless continue to assert they are no longer bombing."

Odds and Ends

—Well, Catholics, Jews, atheists and agnostics are off the hook. Professor Julian Hartt of Yale Divinity School says the environmental crisis is a "practical result of Protestant religious beliefs": pious optimism and a dual apocalypticism, scientific and sentimental.

—Owen Cardinal McCann of Capetown, in Sydney for the Pope's visit, told the press that he personally favored some kind of "limited franchise" for black and colored South Africans, but that right now "the black man is not ready to assume total control of his destiny." Ugh.

JOHN DEEDY



Vadillo, *Ovaciones*, Mexico

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Hoover's Conspiracy

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: On November 27, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee that a "conspiracy of Catholic nuns, priests and lay people," masterminded by Philip and Daniel Berrigan, were planning actions such as kidnapping government officials and bombing power facilities to the Capitol. Mr. Hoover's testimony suggested that all the persons associated with anti-war draft actions were a single conspiratorial group, led by the Berrigan brothers and all identified with the group known as the "East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives."

Those of us who know the *ad hoc* and nonviolent character of the Catholic resistence movement in these areas feel that these charges represent a very serious escalation of government repression of dissent and political opposition. Needless to say, the many people associated with the various actions are not a single group, are not led by the Berrigan brothers in any organizational sense and totally reject the kind of actions which Mr. Hoover describes. Such testimony is an obvious effort to instill panic in the main body of the citizens by conjuring up an image of desperadoes who are planning to put together in one package all the various tactics of third world revolutionaries in Cuba, Vietnam, French Canada and Palestine.

If the F.B.I. can make such charges totally without evidence, without any actual crimes committed and potentially bring down serious indictments based solely on their 'secret evidence' of 'conspiracies' and 'plots,' no citizen is safe and our civil rights will quickly disappear.

We feel that it is time for the broadest possible coalition of concerned citizens in all walks of life, but especially those connected with the church, to register a very strong protest in Washington against such political and repres-

(Continued on page 308)

NEWS & VIEWS: 290 **CORRESPONDENCE 291**
EDITORIALS: 291
PIERRE TRUDEAU'S LEGAL OVERKILL: *Peter Freiberg* **292**
KIND WORDS FOR THE PORNOGRAPHY RESEARCHERS: *Eugene C. Kennedy* **292**
SHOWING THE FLAG: *Peter Steinfels* **295**
DOES ECONOMICS DESERVE A NOBEL PRIZE? (AND, BY THE WAY, DOES SAMUELSON DESERVE ONE?) *Michael Hudson* **296**
CATECHETICS, R.I.P.: *Gabriel Moran* **299**
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* **302**
VERSE: *Michael Cuddihy* **302**
BOOKS: 303

Front cover illustrations: upper, Lurie, Ben Roth Agency; lower, Paul Spina/LNS

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor* ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
GERALD WEALES: *Drama* PHILIP T. HARTUNG: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher* JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL *A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.*
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Printed in the USA and published weekly,
except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1970 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.*
US and Canada, $12 a year. Foreign $14. Single copies 40¢

THE BURDEN OF AGE

"Voting for Popes Is Barred to Cardinals over 80," read the headline in the *New York Times,* and one's first reaction was that this was a bad joke, a sly dig, perhaps, an anti-clerical typo. But no, it turns out that the story is for real, and that the move has genuine consequences, eliminating not less than 25 cardinals who on January 1st will be at least 80 from any conclave called after that date to elect a new pope—and almost certainly eliminating any chance that any one of the octogenarians might himself be chosen. At present the College of Cardinals is made up of 127 members, 38 of whom are Italian. After the January 1 deadline, 102 men will be eligible to vote for a new pope, including 27 Italians, with a two-thirds majority required for election. Since 11 of the 25 cardinals affected by Pope Paul's move are Italian, and most of them conservative, the chances of a non-Italian and somewhat progressive pope have been dramatically increased by one stroke of the papal pen.

Under the terms of the Pope's new decree, called "The Increasing Burden of Age," cardinals on reaching their 80th birthday would have to cease being members of administrative departments and other posts in the Roman Curia. Further, cardinals in charge of such departments are requested to submit their resignations voluntarily when they reach 75 years of age. In the light of the importance of the office of cardinal, however, "because of its very singular connection with the supreme responsibility of the pontiff in the service of the whole church, and also the high responsibility of cardinals for the universal church during vacancies of the Holy See," the Pope will then decide whether or not to accept such resignations immediately.

The present decree is reminiscent of that by which Pope Paul, following the wishes of the Second Vatican Council, called on bishops and parish priests to offer their resignations no later than on their 75th birthday. Said this papal decree: "It seems to us now that the good of the church demands that the increasing burden of age should be taken into consideration also for the illustrious office of the cardinalate"—a conviction with which few will quarrel, we think. Certainly we shall not. True, there are men in their 70's and 80's who are amazingly fit and mentally alert—one thinks here of Pope John XXIII, as well as lesser known personal friends—

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but they remain the exception. The only American cardinal affected, for instance, is Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles. Born in 1886 when Grover Cleveland was President, (after a campaign in which the Republicans' slogan of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" cost them the election), Cardinal McIntyre has roots deep in our national and our Catholic history. Nonetheless, this good man is 84 years old, and intractably conservative, as he showed in his dispute with the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart and on many other occasions. At his age how could he be expected to adjust to the need for rapid change in the post-Council period? His resignation as Archbishop of Los Angeles (not as Cardinal) was finally accepted last year; it should have been sought years before.

Aside from the 86-year-old Cardinal Tisserant, who suggested that the 73-year-old Pope was getting feeble, there was little adverse comment on the Pope's degree. One who did speak out, and vehemently, was the 80-year-old Cardinal Ottaviani, long a leader of and spokesman for the conservative wing of the Curia. Often refreshingly outspoken in the normal hush-hush atmosphere of Rome, the almost blind Cardinal Ottaviani said of the Pope's decision: "It is an act committed in contempt of tradition that is centuries old"—a surprisingly strong statement and one true enough, but one which ignores the fact that some traditions, like barnacles, must be scraped away. The one Pope Paul has now set aside, to our mind, definitely falls into this category; for every still vigorous and able man lost by this decree, ten who have become incompetent and totally inflexible will depart to well-earned rest. In a time of great stress, the church today more than ever needs men who are open, flexible and imaginative at high posts, and advanced age normally militates against such qualities. The Pope's decree, then, was welcome if overdue; it is inevitable that the only question it leaves unanswered is whether Pope Paul himself will resign when he reaches 75 two years from now. As Cardinal Ottaviani might say, what's sauce for the goose. . . .

Commonweal Papers IV Available

Our stock of the special issue, "The Church in the Year 2000," has now been released by the printing plant where it had been impounded by a strike which lasted for several months, and copies are again available. The bonus copies of *Commonweal Papers IV* which had earlier been promised to new subscribers, and other copies of the issue which have been on order, are in the mail. We sincerely regret the delay caused by this protracted printers' strike and the inconvenience to readers who were expecting their copies of "The Church in the Year 2000." For new bulk orders postpaid prices continue to be: 1 to 9 copies, 75¢; 10 to 49, 60¢; 50 or more 50¢ each.

Pierre Trudeau's Legal Overkill

—*"How far would you go?"*
—Newsman questioning Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau about plans to cope with kidnappings.
—*"Well, just watch me."*
—Prime Minister Trudeau.

Imagine President Nixon announcing in the middle

Kind Words for the Porno-Researchers

If you cannot be faulted for being in favor of home and mother neither can you be attacked for being against dirty pictures and dirty books. Politicians, who hold these latter truths to be self-evident, have been climbing over each other like desperate commuters to get a good place on the bandwagon that has been set rolling against the Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. This has proved a feast for the righteously indignant who have not had many opportunities recently to enjoy the warm feeling that comes from denouncing unambiguous evil. The President himself has emerged as a Republican St. George swelling proudly at having slain the thrashing dragon of pornography on election eve. Beneath the welter of criticism of the Commission, however, lie deeper and more inclusive moral questions. These concern our attitude toward the truth, the methods of science, and our willingness to look compassionately at man.

Are we really committed to the pursuit of the truth, no matter how complicated, distasteful and difficult it is to attain this? Or are we as a people still ready to settle for the sketchy mythologies that comfort us because they make it unnecessary for us to look deeply at ourselves and our own behavior?

It is entirely possible, especially given the derisive nature of much discussion along the bloody trail of this year's campaigns, that we can take a collective step backward, substituting anticipated judgments and personal attacks for a willingness to approach the truth in a disciplined and scientific manner. This is the implication of much of the criticism of the researchers whose work provides the foundation for the report on obscenity and pornography. There is nothing new in subtly branding the scientists who investigate man's sexuality as somehow mildly depraved, devi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the night that an internal security emergency exists because of the Weathermen bombings. His proclamation outlaws the Weathermen and any other groups advocating violence to bring about political change and subjects their members and supporters to five years in jail. Within minutes, police and FBI agents are busting down doors of antiwar activists, black leaders, left-wing journalists, community organizers and anyone else suspected of lending financial, verbal or moral support to Weathermen at any time in the past. Those arrested are jailed up to 21 days without being charged, unable to see legal counsel or their families. If charges are placed, a suspect is detained another 90 days awaiting trial. The vast majority of persons confined are not connected with the Weathermen and will eventually be released. They are, without exaggeration, political prisoners jailed for their beliefs.

Just change the names, and you have a good idea what happened when repression, Canadian-style, was ushered in at 4 a.m. on Oct. 16. Under the War Measures Act (WMA) proclaimed by the federal government following two kidnappings by the separatist Front of Libération du Quebec (FLQ), about 450 persons, including many prominent French-Canadian intellectuals,

ously motivated, or bent on the destruction of our most prized values. That makes for good William Jennings Bryan style oratory while it excuses us from taking a closer look at what might be hard truths about ourselves.

The larger moral question here centers on whether we are going to be selective or defensive in our approach to knowledge; whether we are going to cut out or cut off those searches for the truth which make us uneasy; whether, in other words, we are going to choose the darkness rather than the light because we have private reasons for not wanting to see very well anyway. Moral outrage is well orchestrated to denouncing what is presumably dirty but this drowns out the fundamental principle that some truth is always better than rumor, prejudice, or just plain ignorance.

The first people to admit the shortcomings of the research done for the Presidential Commission are the social scientists who carried it out. The methods of social science demand that research be done openly, publicly as it is said, with a detailed description of each research step and technique so that any colleague can repeat the process if he chooses. The pornography researchers moved into an area where pitifully little work had been done. They did so in the only way in which any scientist can proceed, carefully but incompletely, with the full realization that he will not work the perfect experiment. He also knows that if he waits for the day when he can work the mistake-proof experiment, he will not work any experiment at all.

The social scientists who worked for the commission acted professionally, qualifying their presentations carefully, pointing out weaknesses in their own sampling and methodology, and underscoring the need for continuing reseach. To respond to the discipline of research is to act morally in trying to uncover the truth that is the only sure basis for human wisdom. To denounce the work of these men without carefully reading their presentations is, at the very least, a questionable moral position, as is the hue and cry which would prevent the follow-up investigations that are so clearly needed.

If we choose to curtail our search for an understanding of the meaning of pornography in man's life, we may also exhibit a late-century hardness of heart against man himself. There are few things that have caused human beings more intense personal anguish than the ignorance and superstition that have cloaked the sexual dimension of personality. It is only in this century that we have begun to view man anew, seeing that he is not filled with demons, and sensing that his sexuality is deeply expressive of his identity. To repress and restrict inquiry into the mystery of man's responsiveness to pornography on the grounds that this is unfitting or immoral is the kind of maneuver that invites us all back into the dark ages.

Man, with all his weak spots, needs compassionate understanding far more than the puritanical control that only confuses him and makes it difficult for him to become fully mature. Nobody in his right mind will say that a diet of pornography either leads to or symbolizes fully human behavior. But it would be far better to understand why men crave vicarious, frustrating, and ultimately isolating erotic experiences than to condemn them out of hand to continue to bear their all too human burdens in a world we are afraid to light up.

Man is, after all, saying something to us in the language of pornography, in the search for some sense of self that motivates the middle-aged quest for the movies and exhibitions that make people feel a little less lonely. One would have to be hard of heart indeed to say that we should not listen or try to understand what man, in all aspects of his sexual behavior, is trying to say about himself. It is only through an openness to the scientific approach to truth and a genuine sensitivity to man that we can achieve the adult moral wisdom needed to guide our way into the next century.

EUGENE C. KENNEDY

(Father Eugene C. Kennedy, M.M., is a counseling psychologist and author.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

union leaders, separatists and left-wing activists were rounded up and jailed. Almost two months later, the arrests have stopped but basic civil liberties are still suspended and the fear remains under a virtual military occupation of Quebec. The swiftness with which Canada was transformed into what University of Montreal Law Prof. Herbert Marx calls a "constitutional dictatorship" under the WMA helps account for the initially surprising lack of organized opposition on the left.

Like other Canadians, the left has watched with wonder and some detachment the growing repression across the border. Sane, decent, law-abiding Canada, a haven for American draft-dodgers—it couldn't happen here. The WMA had never been implemented in peacetime and most lawyers foresaw no justification for proclaiming it after the kidnappings. Trudeau maintained, as the law required him to do, that an "apprehended insurrection" existed, but he has been unable to provide a shred of evidence to bolster his claim.

From the government's point of view, however, there were other reasons that made emergency powers desirable. The FLQ had issued a manifesto criticizing politicians, "Anglo-Saxon capitalists" and other institutions for the injustices of the Quebec nation. In a province where unemployment among Quebecois is almost 10 percent and more than half the urban population is classified as "poor," where English-speaking Canadians and Americans own most of the industry and where there is a fear among all classes of French-Canadians that their language and culture are being obliterated, the manifesto found a receptive audience.

Quebec may be the only place in North America where a student-worker-intellectual alliance is possible. Leaders of these groups began mobilizing in support of the FLQ's objectives. Students and professors in French universities staged rallies, Quebec's largest trade unions issued sympathetic statements and man-in-the-street interviews disclosed a large reservoir of agreement with FLQ goals. A group of 17 respected French-Canadians, including Claude Ryan, editor of the Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir,* and René Levesque, whose separatist Parti Quebecois gained 24 percent of the vote in last April's provincial election, urged the Quebec government to negotiate seriously with the FLQ for the release of British diplomat James Cross and Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte.

This ferment did not mean an "insurrection" was developing; there was almost universal condemnation of of FLQ methods. Nevertheless, the government was alarmed: not only was the FLQ gaining a certain "respectability," but a coalition was forming that could strengthen separatism in the long run and pressure for fundamental social and economic changes. Trudeau's anxiety was also felt by Montreal's conservative mayor, Jean Drapeau, who was in the midst of a reelection campaign in which he was drawing sharp criticism from a new party with a working-class orientation, the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP). Drapeau saw a state of emergency as an opportunity to link FRAP with the FLQ as subversive. Trudeau, urged on by Drapeau and fearing that a divided provincial government was losing control of the situation, invoked the WMA to "end this nonsense." The drastic measure would tell the leftists and separatists and indeed all dissidents that they could go only so far, that the government would not tolerate anything it interpreted as endangering what Trudeau called the "unique social stability" of Canada.

One parliamentary opponent of the emergency powers, noting the FLQ's tiny membership, said the government was "using a sledgehammer to crack a peanut." The effects of the sledgehammer went far beyond arrests. The government-run CBC censored reporting on Quebec, and many newspapers and private stations followed suit. *Le Devoir* and some unions and university groups attacked the WMA, but militant protest was impossible given the power handed police. Opponents feared to demonstrate because anything they did or said could be construed as support for the FLQ. Laporte's murder less than 48 hours after the WMA was proclaimed was viewed as senseless and immoral by most Quebecois; it created an emotional climate that doomed efforts to rouse the public against the WMA. In the Montreal election, Drapeau's law and order campaign won him 92 percent of the vote. And English Canadians, distrustful of Quebec and confused by the rapid chain of events, were almost unanimous in backing the government.

Many Quebec activists remain optimistic. They believe opposition to the emergency powers is rising and that the government will not be able to institute permanent repression. They may be right, but their recent experience is testimony to the dangers of unpreparedness. New legislation passed by Parliament restricts the October regulations to Quebec and modifies some of their more odious features; should the government decide to end the emergency as a result of the release of Mr. Cross, the WMA will still be available whenever the government wants to crack down hard. Even if the FLQ disappears and no successor emerges, Quebec's growing separatist movement and a potentially powerful alliance for radical change may lead to future civil-liberties suspensions. The Quebec Justice Minister has already urged that every resident be forced to carry an identification card, and more than 2,000 raids have enabled police to vastly expand their files on non-terrorists. The federal government, while insisting it acted to save liberal democracy, has left no doubt how far it is willing to go toward saving the unity of Canada. There is no guarantee that this year's fall offensive against dissent will be the last. PETER FREIBERG

(Peter Freiberg, a UPI reporter in New York, covered the recent kidnap crisis in Quebec. He was formerly with the Toronto Daily Star.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

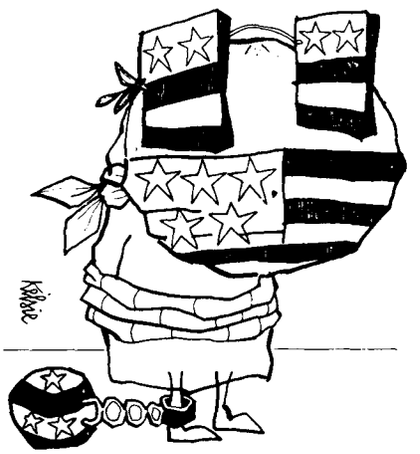
SHOWING THE FLAG

PETER STEINFELS

ON NOVEMBER 15, Veteran's Day, I went to see the American flag desecrated. The Desecration was taking place at Judson Memorial Church in Greenwich Village, and I suppose the walk along Eighth Street, that soft underbelly of the counter-culture, on a grey, damp morning did nothing to put me in an appreciative mood. "Got some change?" A dead-eyed, stringy young girl (twelve? thirteen?) stuck out one hand at the fellow citizen of Woodstock Nation in whose wake I was edging along the sidewalk. "Go ask your mother in Larchmont!" came his reply. The Age of Aquarius.

Actually, what I went to see was the People's Flag Show; and to be fair, I note that the people (the one to whom the streets belong) had announced, not without a bit of that pomposity to which the people is noticeably subject, that it did not mean to desecrate the flag, which, the people said, was being done by official orders far more effectively than the people's poor power to add or detract; but instead that the flag show was intended as a protest against those laws restricting the use and display of the flag, laws which have been the instrument of a good deal of hypocrisy and harassment.

With much of this I am in agreement with the people. I cannot be convinced that monkeying with the flag as a political gesture is anything but counter-productive. But observers from all over the world have been astounded by America's current flag fetishism. How could it not, therefore, be game for artistic comment? I was curious to see the quality of that comment.



The people, or whoever acted as its surrogate in this matter, was determined that the art show be "open," the price being that, for all who had eyes to see, the quality of work was generally depressing. When a woman as intelligent as Kate Millet sticks a flag in a toilet, titles it "The American Dream Goes to Pot," and thinks she has done something clever, well it's enough to make Jasper Johns seem positively profound.

Perhaps the show's total effect was a marvelous parody of our star spangled obsession: flag miniskirts, flag pants, flag cookies, flag-painted apples and, of course, flag penises. Too often, I fear, the parody was unintended. There were exceptions. There was genuine impudence. There was the box constructed of mirrors by Sam Wiener in which he placed several small, flag-draped caskets which then reflected into almost endless plains of caskets on the box's walls. Mr. Wiener attached an Apology: "Looking from one horizon to the other you are able to see some four thousand coffins. If I had used vacuum plated aluminum front-surface mirrors you might have been able to see 43,928 American flag-draped coffins. They don't make mirrors which would have enough reflectivity to project the Vietnamese (North & South) coffins."

For too many artists, however, a Significant Statement consisted in placing an American flag and a swastika in some, any, relationship to one another, or in scrawling obscenities. It wasn't the insult or anger which bothered me but the absence of that vast range of more complicated emotions which now surround a symbol like the flag. One item, a fire alarm box stuffed with a flag ("Break Glass in Case of Emergency") began to express the pathetic desperation of our current flag-ellation. Almost no one attempted to express the plight of the man who like Camus loves his country but loves justice more. The bumper-sticker mentality is contagious.

And then, as if to prove that when it comes to zealotry, the people can't hold a match to the forces of law and order, the police swooped down on the People's Flag Show, arrested three artists and forced a closing. The court case presently stands adjourned so that another case testing the constitutionality of New York's flag law can be heard in Appeals Court first. I went to the hearing and watched and waited while the sorry cases of hit-and-run and reckless driving and possession of heroin came before the judge, while the poor and baffled were run through the hoops of the law; and when a door in the back of the courtroom opened, I noticed, on the frosted glass panel beyond, the rippling shape of a *Reader's Digest* flag decal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DOES ECONOMICS DESERVE A NOBEL PRIZE?

(And, by the way, does Samuelson deserve one?)

MICHAEL HUDSON

It is bad enough that the field of psychology has for so long been a non-social science, viewing the motive forces of personality as deriving from internal psychic experiences rather than from man's interaction with his social setting. Similarly in the field of economics: since its "utilitarian" revolution about a century ago, this discipline has also abandoned its analysis of the objective world in favor of more psychic, utilitarian and welfare-oriented norms. Moral speculations concerning mathematical psychics have come to displace the science of political economy.

To a large extent the discipline's revolt against British classical political economy was a reaction against Marxism, which represented the logical culmination of classical Ricardian economics and its paramount emphasis on the conditions of production. Following the counter-revolution, the motive force of economic behavior came to be viewed as stemming from man's *wants* rather than from his productive capacities, his organization or production, and the social relations that followed therefrom. By the postwar period the anti-classical revolution (curiously termed *neo*-classical by its participants) had carried the day. Its major textbook of indoctrination was Paul Samuelson's *Economics*.

Today, virtually all established economists are products of this anti-classical revolution, which I myself am tempted to call a revolution against economic analysis *per se*. The established practitioners of economics are uniformly negligent of the social preconditions and consequences of man's economic activity. In this lies their problem, as well as that of the newly-instituted Economics Prize granted by the Swedish Academy: for at least the next decade it must perforce remain a prize for non-economics, or at best superfluous economics. Should it therefore be given at all?

This is only the second year in which the Economics Prize has been awarded, and the first time it has been granted to a single individual—Paul Samuelson— described in the words of a jubilant *New York Times* editorial as "the world's greatest pure economic theorist." And yet the body of doctrine which Samuelson espouses is one of the major reasons why economics students enrolled in the nation's colleges have been declining in number. For they are, I am glad to say, appalled at the irrelevant nature of the discipline as it is now taught, impatient with its inability to describe the problems which plague the world in which they live, and increasingly resentful of its explaining away the most apparent problems which first attracted them to the subject.

The trouble with the Nobel Award is not so much its choice of man (although I shall have more to say later as to the implications of their choice of Samuelson), but their designation of economics as a scientific field worthy of receiving a Nobel prize at all. In the prize committee's words, Mr. Samuelson received the award for the "scientific work through which he has developed static and dynamic economic theory and actively contributed to raising the level of analysis in economic *science*. . . ."

But what is the nature of this science? Can it be "scientific" to promulgate theories which do not describe economic reality as it unfolds in its historical context, and which lead to economic imbalance when applied? Is economics really an *applied* science at all? Of course it is implemented in practice, but with a noteworthy lack of success in recent years on the part of all the major economic schools, from the post-Keynesians to the monetarists.

In Mr. Samuelson's case, for example, the trade policy which follows from his theoretical doctrines is that of laissez faire. That this doctrine has been adopted by most of the western world is obvious. That it has benefitted the developed nations is also apparent. However, its usefulness to the less developed countries is doubtful, for underlying it is a permanent justification of the status quo: let things alone and everything will (tend to) come to "equilibrium." Unfortunately, this concept of equilibrium is probably the most perverse

MICHAEL HUDSON *is Visiting Lecturer in International Finance at the New School for Social Research in New York.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

idea plaguing economics today, and it is just this concept which Mr. Samuelson has done so much to popularize. For it is all too often overlooked that when someone falls flat on his face he is "in equilibrium" just as much as when he is standing upright. Poverty as well as wealth represents an equilibrium position. Everything that exists represents, however fleetingly, some equilibrium—that is, some balance or product—of forces.

Nowhere is the sterility of this equilibrium preconception more apparent than in Mr. Samuelson's famous factor-price equalization theorem, which states that the natural tendency of the international economy is for wages and profits among nations to converge over time. But this is obviously not happening: international wage levels and living standards are diverging, not converging, so that the rich countries are becoming richer and the poor countries poorer—and at an accelerating pace, to boot. Capital Transfers as called for in Mr. Samuelson's economics have, if anything, aggravated the problem, largely because they have tended to buttress the structural defects which impede progress in the poorer countries: obsolete systems of land tenure, inadequate educational and labor-training institutions, pre-capitalist aristocratic social structures, and so forth. Unfortunately, it is just such political-economic factors that have been overlooked by Mr. Samuelson's theorizing (as they have been overlooked by the mainstream of academic economists since political economy gave way to "economics" a century ago). In this respect Mr. Samuelson's theories can be described as beautiful watch parts which, when assembled, make a watch that doesn't tell time accurately. The individual parts are perfect, but their interaction is somehow not. The parts of this watch are the constituents of neo-classical theory which add up to an inapplicable whole. They are a kit of conceptual tools ideally designed to correct a world that doesn't exist.

The problem is one of scope. Mr. Samuelson's three volumes of economic papers represent a myriad of applications of internally consistent (or what economists call "elegant") theories. But to what avail? The theories are static, the world dynamic. And the reason is not merely that Samuelson is not aware of the dynamic quality of life. It is that there is no way of encompassing it within his intellectual apparatus.

Ultimately, the problem resolves to a basic difference between economics and the natural sciences. In the latter, the preconception of an ultimate symmetry in nature has led to many revolutionary breakthroughs, from the Copernican revolution in astronomy to the theory of the atom and its sub-particles, and including the laws of thermodynamics, the periodic table of the elements, and unified field theory. But economic activity is not characterized by a similar underlying symmetry. It is more unbalanced. Independent variables or exogenous shocks do *not* set in motion just-offsetting countermovements as they would have to to bring about equilibrium. If they did, there would be no economic growth at all in the world economy, no difference between U.S. per capita productive powers (and living standards) and those of Paraguay. Mr. Samuelson, however, is representative of the academic mainstream today in imagining that economic forces tend to equalize productive powers and personal incomes throughout the world *except* when impeded by the disequilibrating "impurities" of government policy. Actual empirical observation has long indicated that the historical evolution of "free" market forces has increasingly favored only the richer nations (those nations fortunate enough to have benefitted from an economic head-start) and correspondingly retarded the development of the laggard countries. It is precisely the existence of political and institutional "impurities" such as foreign aid programs, deliberate government employment policies, and related political actions that have tended to counteract the "natural" course of economic history, by trying to maintain some international equitability of economic development and to help *compensate* for the economic dispersion caused by the disequilibrating "natural" economy.

A Revolution

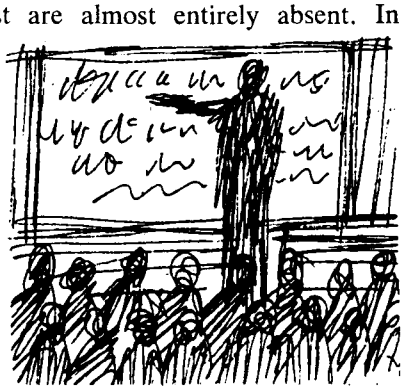
This decade will see a revolution in these untenable theories. This has happened before. Indeed, virtually all of the leading economic postulates and "tools of the trade" have been developed in the context of political-economic debates accompanying turning points in economic history. (To a surprising extent, these debates have concerned international trade and payments.) Thus, for every theory put forth there has been a counter-theory. Hume with the quantity theory of money, for instance, along with Adam Smith and his "invisible hand" of self-interest, opposed the mercantilist monetary and international financial theories that had been used to defend England's commercial restrictions in the eighteenth century. Some years later, during England's Corn Law debates, Malthus opposed Ricardo on value and rent theory and its implications for the theory of comparative advantage in international trade. Later, the American protectionists of the 19th century opposed the Ricardians, urging that engineering coefficients and productivity theory become the nexus of economic thought rather than exchange value and distribution. Still later, the Austrian School and Alfred Marshall emerged to oppose classical political economy (particularly Marx) from yet another vantage point, making consumption and utility the nexus of their theorizing.

In the 1920s, Keynes opposed Bertil Ohlin and Jacques Rueff (among others) as to the existence of structural limits to the ability of the traditional price-and-income-adjustment mechanisms to maintain "equilibrium," or even economic and social stability. The setting of this debate was the German reparations prob-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lem. Today, a parallel debate is raging between the Structuralist School which flourishes mainly in Latin America and opposes austerity programs as a viable plan for economic improvement of their countries, and the monetarist and post-Keynesian schools defending the IMF's austerity programs of balance-of-payments adjustment. Finally, in yet another debate, Milton Friedman and his monetarist school are opposing what is left of the Keynesians (including Paul Samuelson) over whether monetary aggregates or interest rates and fiscal policy are the decisive factors in economic activity.

In none of these debates do (or did) members of one school accept the theories *or even the underlying assumptions and postulates* of the other. In this respect the history of economic thought has not resembled that of physics, medicine, or other natural sciences, in which a discovery is fairly rapidly and universally acknowledged to be a contribution of new objective knowledge, and in which political repercussions and its associated national self-interest are almost entirely absent. In economics



alone the irony is posed that two contradictory theories may both qualify for prizeworthy preeminence, and that the prize may please one group of nations and displease another on *theoretical* grounds. Thus, if the Nobel prize could be awarded posthumously, both Ricardo *and* Malthus, Marx *and* Marshall would no doubt qualify—just as both Paul Samuelson and Milton Friedman were each leading contenders for this year's prize. Who, on the other hand, can imagine the recipient of the physics or chemistry prize holding a view not almost universally shared by his colleagues? (Within the profession, of course, there may exist different schools of thought. But they do not usually dispute the recognized positive contribution of their profession's Nobel prizewinner.) Who could review the history of these prizes and pick out a great number of recipients whose contributions proved to be false trails or stumbling blocks to theoretical progress rather than (in their day) breakthroughs?

The Swedish Royal Academy has therefore involved itself in a number of inconsistencies in choosing Mr. Samuelson to receive the 1970 Economics Prize. For one thing, last year's prize was awarded to two mathematical economists (Jan Tinbergen of Holland and Ragnar Frisch of Norway) for their translation of other men's economic theories into mathematical language, and in their statistical testing of existing economic theory. This year's prize, by way of contrast, was awarded to a man whose theoretical contribution is essentially untestable by the very nature of its "pure" assumptions, which are far too static ever to have the world stop its dynamic evolution so that they may be "tested." (This prompted one of my colleagues to suggest that the next Economics Prize be awarded to anyone capable of empirically testing any of Mr. Samuelson's theorems.)

And precisely because economic "science" seems to be more akin to "political science" than to natural science, the Economics Prize seems closer to the Peace Prize than to the prize in chemistry. Deliberately or not, it represents the Royal Swedish Academy's endorsement or recognition of the political *influence* of some economist in helping to defend some (presumably) laudable government policy. Could the prize therefore be given just as readily to a U.S. president, a central banker or some other non-academician as to a "pure" theorist (if such exists)? Could it just as well be granted to David Rockefeller for taking the lead in lowering the prime rate, or President Nixon for his acknowledged role in guiding the world's largest economy, or to Arthur Burns as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board? If the issue is after all ultimately one of government policy, the answer would seem to be affirmative.

Or is popularity perhaps to become the major criterion for winning the prize? This year's award must have been granted at least partially in recognition of Mr. Samuelson's *Economics* textbook, which has sold over two million copies since 1947 and thereby influenced the minds of a whole generation of—let us say it, for it is certainly not all Mr. Samuelson's fault—old fogeys. The book's orientation itself has impelled students away from further study of the subject, rather than attracting them to it. And yet if popularity and success in the marketplace of economic fads (among those who have chosen to remain in the discipline rather than seeking richer intellectual pastures elsewhere) is to become a consideration, then the prize committee has done an injustice to Jacqueline Susann in not awarding her this year's literary prize.

To summarize, reality and relevance rather than purity and elegance are the burning issues in economics today, political implications rather than antiquarian geometrics. The fault therefore lies not with Mr. Samuelson but with his discipline. Until it is agreed what economics *is*, or *should be*, it is as fruitless to award a prize for "good economics" as to award an engineer who designed a marvelous machine which either could not be built, or whose purpose was unexplained. The prize must thus fall to those still lost in the ivory corridors of the past, reinforcing general-equilibrium economics just as it is being pressed out of favor by those striving to restore the discipline to its long-lost pedestal of political economy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CATECHETICS, R. I. P.

THERE IS SOMETHING VERY PECULIAR ABOUT A FIELD WHICH DISAPPEARS AS IT IMPROVES

GABRIEL MORAN

A few years ago I wrote an essay entitled "The Future of Catechetics." I began the essay by saying that the question for the future of catechetics is not what it will be but whether it will be. I suggested in answer that a field of catechetics distinct from both theology and education should not exist.

Developments in the last two or three years give support, I believe, to this suggestion. The word "catechetics" has effectively dropped out of many people's vocabulary, even though the word is still gaining ground in some places that first resisted it.

Before someone tries to substitute a synonym for a word that no longer communicates, he should reflect on the symptomatic character of words. Single words do not come and go but language systems change; and they change as a reflection of a changing reality. If a key word seems to have died, then it is likely that reality has altered fundamentally.

The emergence of the word "catechetics" in American Catholic literature of the late 1950's signified the entrance onto our shores of new theological and educational ideas. Insofar as American Catholicism could profit from new ideas coming from anywhere, the "catechetical movement" can still be applauded as a success. Looking back on that movement, however, one can see grave inadequacies in both its theology and its educational theory. The theology was a powerful but narrow neo-orthodoxy which preserved biblical categories from contamination by contemporary ideas. The time-lag in American Catholicism's acquaintance with modern biblical study made it ripe for a theology which was going out of favor in many other places. The educational framework was even more severely limited. It seemed to suppose a priest in a pulpit talking to little children or at least to adults' being treated like little children. When the educational theory was any better, one could suspect that it was because American Catholics were getting John Dewey via French and German translations.

The word "catechetics" has remained a European import which never really took hold in this country. Certainly American Protestants could never make any sense out of the word, a fact which should have given pause to American Catholics. Nonetheless, for a time in the 1960's catechetics struggled to come into its own as a discipline. With only a few exceptions (for example, Gerard Sloyan or Bernard Cooke) the new field did not draw the support of the best minds in the American Catholic church. The university world wanted no part of it. As a result, catechetics remained a parish-school-CCD project and it was left to the seminary to make catechetics into a respectable field of learning.

The catechetics course, left over from some bygone day in the seminary curriculum, seemed to be stirring to life like some long sleeping giant. Then a funny thing happened to catechetics on the way to becoming a discipline: it disappeared. There is something very peculiar about a field which disappears as it improves. The attempt to build religion departments in Catholic schools has not succeeded because the courses and the teachers keep disappearing. When religion courses are improved they gradually come to look like something other than religion. Likewise, the more that religion teachers are prepared, the less they generally seem interested in teaching a religion course in school.

There are people who are very angry about the development and some of them direct their anger at me. A few of these people have more than an academic interest in the matter. Some people have lost their jobs and other people have lost some money. Several textbook companies had discovered a multi-million dollar business in the new catechetics only to see the market disappear more rapidly than it had originally sprung up.

What has happened is fairly easy to see in retrospect. Catechetics was created from a peculiar kind of theology and a primitive form of education. Some people tried to improve the theology and other people worked at the educational side. However, the improvement of theol-

BROTHER GABRIEL MORAN, F.S.C., *is visiting professor at New York Theological Seminary and president of the Christian Brothers.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ogy and education did not improve catechetics; it blew the field apart. What had been good theologically was reabsorbed into theology; what was good educationally is being assimilated into general education. No one's theories killed catechetics; it collapsed of its own weight.

Where do we stand today after the demise of catechetics? We are certainly not worse off than we were ten years ago. However, a feeling of having been duped may make it seem that way. Catholics on both the left and the right today complain about what has happened in the catechetical movement. The right-wingers have been marshaling their forces around this issue during the last two or three years. They appear ready to make their all-out stand on this ground to save the church. I sympathize with their nostalgic search and I respect their clarity of purpose and their dedication to means. I not only could enjoy but also could agree with much of the speech on textbooks given at the Wanderer Forum by the lady whose rhetoric left Spiro Agnew in the dust. It remains true, nonetheless, that the right-wing adversaries of catechetics have no workable alternatives. Their proposed solutions are more inadequate than the programs which they can so easily criticize. They waste their energies searching out heresy at a time when that problem has been swallowed by the much larger question of the existence of any Christianity at all. Their aim to extirpate heresy by direct means is incompatible with the educative process. As a result, they are not addressing the problems that affect our world. It is not a matter of faddishness, selling out, or weak-kneed conformism, as they would put it in their vocabulary. It is a question of dealing with the religious and educational scene that now exists, whether or not one approves of it.

The fringe of liberal critics has even less reason for a belligerent attitude toward catechetics. They apparently had assumed that a few catechetical experts would fix up the school curriculum and that the church would make comfortable progress. They may now be a bit peeved that it has not gone very smoothly. Perhaps their children still do not like the religion course in the local school. Things may even seem to have gotten more confused than ever before. At such a point there is always the temptation to look for a scapegoat. What the critic should really be asking is why he has not been in the game all along. The critic hoped that someone else's theories were all that was needed. Let the beleaguered teacher in the Catholic school or CCD apply the theories. What time has revealed is the need for a more radical restructuring of institutions that would demand involvement of every Christian.

What should be clear today is that we do not have a catechetical problem but we do have a crisis in the existence, form and function of a Christian church. One of the reasons why the word "catechetics" has no future is because it is irretrievably intramural. A venture that has as its objective the making of good Christians (which is equated with being proper church members) is today self-defeating. The harder it tries to reach its objective, the more it puts off the people it is striving to train, shape, or form.

One could rightly object that being a good Christian is not necessarily identical with being a proper church member. Indeed, the catechetical movement found that when people really began to explore religious possibilities the process inevitably undermined the existing church. Thus, liberal and conservative critics find themselves in agreement on this point: that the church which has sponsored a catechetical movement has not received a proper return on its investment.

It is to the lasting credit of the catechetical movement that it revealed that catechetics is unworkable because the present church is unworkable. Catechetics' moment of glory was in bringing many people to the realization that the church walls had to come down and a new form of community had to be developed. To the extent that a catechetical movement succeeded it knocked down the walls, thus eliminating itself as an intramural task.

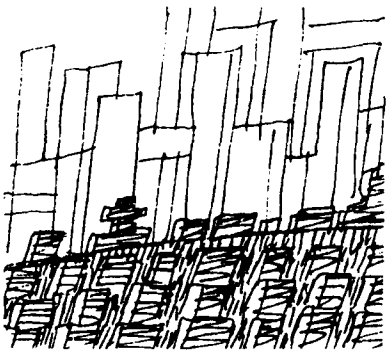
No one should think that the end of catechetics is the end of the relation between religion and education. In fact, it is only after the walls have come tumbling down that there can appear the really enormous problem of religion in education and education in religion. What should one call the study of the interrelation of religion and education? Logically, it should no doubt be called "religious education." However, that term carries a burden of historical connotations almost as heavy as the word "catechetics." Religious education, a term which preceded and then accompanied catechetics, was pre-empted by one group of Christians doing one set of things to one age-level of people. Insofar as religious education is a bland and general term it could conceivably be saved from its ecclesio-centric bias. Whether the term is worth the effort to save it is questionable. In any case, it is likely that the term will have to die in its older meaning before it can be reborn to a new significance.

One can applaud the current attempts to establish religious education departments that prepare educators with a major in religion. At the same time people in these ventures seem unaware of the historic problem that they are tackling. If religious education is to be a genuine field of study, and not a cover for indoctrination, it must be born from a combination of sound religion and good education. Such a combination would be more threatening to the Christian church than anything produced by the catechetical movement. Anyone who sets out to educate in the field of religion has to put scripture, liturgy and Christian theology into a broader context that does not afford Christianity a normative role. I think that this step should be taken and must be taken. I am simply raising a forewarning to churches and church-related schools that they should not take this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

step unaware of the implications and then complain later that the investment has been a failure. Church institutions should not be too pretentious about what they are doing in religious studies departments or religious education schools until they have gotten a credible distance from an ecclesiastically introverted position.

For the first time in its history Christianity is facing an ecumenical era which will demand a religious understanding worked out in the context of a single world history. As Mircea Eliade has recently pointed out, this historical moment of confrontation with the world's religious scene is a painful and even humiliating one for the Western church. The religious movement at work in the 70's is liable to have an effect opposite to the religious movement of the 50's that brought people back to church. The religious attitude of the coming



generation was aptly put in the title of a recent article by a university chaplain: "Never on Sunday." Whether this fact is more an indication of the naive anti-institutionalism of the new generation or of the corrupt rigidity of the old church might be debated. In either case, the existence of anything called church is going to be in question for the near future.

By an ecumenical era, therefore, I do not mean one in which Catholics and Protestants are going to drink tea together. An ecumenical era is one in which any organized religion will have difficulty getting a hearing in a world which is doing its religious thing elsewhere. In such a world no religious group can expect to have members because they were born into its tradition. Any organized religious group will have to be constantly devising means to make its position intelligible to all intelligent and responsible adults. Education thus becomes a central concern of all the members at all times rather than a peripheral task of a few experts who train children.

The job of moving out into the broader educational scene might seem overwhelming for any religious body. People who have lived in Sunday schools are hardly ready to take on the Ivy League. Somewhat surprisingly, however, there is help coming from the opposite direction. People who are interested simply in education are coming upon many questions which, either from cowardliness or piety, had been relegated to the churches. It is becoming increasingly difficult to sidestep these sticky issues. Questions of irrational force, human value, inner spirit, disintegrating community, and mystical symbolism cannot be avoided much longer in anyone's education.

Those of us who are still interested enough in a Christion church to believe that it is worth reforming should be looking to these larger religious and educational needs of our society. Because the church seems to be engaged in serving the religious and educational needs of another era, its credibility is hurt even when it seems to be successful. In the religious sphere, it directs nearly all its attention to people between the ages of 6 and 17. That period of life is one when a strongly religious atmosphere and an explicitly Christian teaching should be kept to a low key. In an ecumenical era we need almost the reverse of what we have, that is, we need a religious environment before the age of 6 and the availability of Christian theology after age 17.

Educationally, the Catholic church is still trying to reach the greatest number of people it can. This objective is also self-defeating. It was perhaps a mistake of Catholic school critics to emphasize that Catholic schools were reaching only 50, 40 or 30 percent of Catholic children. Possibly the extension of the system to that large a percentage was a major part of the problem. In any case, the most crucial question was not one of percentage at all. The question is why the church is now in the business of schools. To accept percentages of Catholic children as the basis of discussion is to think in term of the church's educational service in the past. The church got into the school business to preserve itself and to serve the religious and educational needs of a future generation of church members.

Nearly everyone admits that the situation has changed drastically but few people seem willing to draw the educational conclusions. The church's educational contribution in the ecumenical era should be to raise the educational level of the whole community by whatever means and to whatever degree it is possible. No one could fault the church for not solving the whole educational problem so long as the church is facing in the right direction. What is specifically an educational contribution should be made without regard to whether the recipients are Christians or not. Some efforts are being made in this direction but often the people engaged in them are not entirely clear about the nature of their involvement. Neither church sponsors nor church school teachers have been unambiguously clear about being in the educational field without a vested interest.

No matter what is done, educational ventures which have "official" church sponsorship are sure to be suspect for the present. To counteract this tendency I would go so far as to make this drastic suggestion. Wherever there is official church sponsorship of education, the teaching of religion should be avoided. Admittedly, this is to bend over backwards to avoid the charge of ulterior motives. Such a maneuver should not always be necessary but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it is needed at this moment for a church trying to establish itself at the entrance to an ecumenical era. The proposal may be hopelessly naive in supposing that any human institution could be that selfless but it is a challenge which might test the church's claim to serve the needs of all God's creation. Sometimes individuals and institutions have only a choice between high heroism and painful death.

Christians, like everyone else, should not be prevented from teaching their own religious tradition. I am proposing, however, that this teaching should be in a context clearly distinguishable from an official party line. The individual can be unambiguously a member of a church group but the titles, clothes, books, architecture, etc. must indicate an autonomy of thought and responsibility. Religious questions, including the existence of a Christian church, should be explored in adult education centers, in secular universities, in private community ventures, on television, and in dozens of other places. One cannot deny the tenuousness of these structures for education in religion but that cannot be the decisive issue here. If the future belongs to this framework it becomes necessary for many of us to get into such projects and to improve the structure. The success, as well as the failures, of some small attempts might lead the way toward a larger shift of resources.

I am aware of the magnitude of the change I am proposing. It is assumed that individual Christians can unofficially engage in education but that an official church exists for education in the religious area. I am claiming that the reverse is true. An official church makes sense to back educational projects but religions ought to be taught in an atmosphere free of any church structure. If such a reversal were to occur it would be a near-miracle. It would also cause conflict that would threaten the life of the church. It would also show that the church clearly had a life that is worth threatening.

MICHAEL CUDDIHY

FRIENDS

The mesquite tree
wants us to be friends.
I need only touch
his new green leaves
to be convinced.

He lets me inhabit
his blue shadow.

We have the same
thirst for silence,
each of us keeps
his distance from the mountains.

LEAN YEARS

THE SCREEN

For days David Lean sat in the dark watching and listening, and trying to make the two sense impressions come out even. He was watching the same sequence from *Ryan's Daughter* over and over again—a terrific storm sequence shot, like the rest of the film, on the west coast of Ireland. Since a storm recorded by direct sound is a pip-squeak of a noise, Lean was trying to synthesize from train rumbles and screaming turbines an aural counterpart for his 70 mm footage. This, at least, is the story given out by Anthony Havelock-Allan, Lean's producer. Mr. Havelock-Allan told the story to an admiring group of Leanatics at the Museum of Modern Art—in order to impress on them the one big thing none doubted: that Lean is a dedicated perfectionist. To my mind, however, such big-bang theories of what's perfect are a bit improbable.

The moral of Havelock-Allan's anecdote can be traced back to Lean's career all the way to his apprenticeship. It wasn't from the dramatic end, as a scenarist or stage director, that Lean came into film-making. It was from the technical end, working his way up from assistant cameraman and editor. His first break was to be made co-director in charge of technical work on Noel Coward's *In Which We Serve*. Thus the star he handled on his debut assignment wasn't even human: it was H.M.S. Torrin, a destroyer whose story he had to tell from keel-laying to sinking. Despite the film's success, Coward found he couldn't abide the "fussiness" film directing entailed. But that fussiness was just what Lean was developing a passion for, so Coward bestowed on his protégé three more Coward scripts.

Until the mid-fifties, Lean continued to work with what must have seemed the terribly limited resources of the British film industry. Then, when MGM hired him for *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), he got a chance to use his technical expertise on the scale of grandeur that only American money could buy. MGM followed through with two more blockbusters, *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *Dr. Zhivago* (1965), and now the same company has backed *Ryan's Daughter*. Yet of all Lean's films—and it hasn't been that many really (fourteen), because he's taken years to make some of them—only *Lawrence of Arabia* ranks among the great classics of film history.

Both the advantages and limitations of Lean's talents can be seen most clearly in his 1952 film, *Breaking the Sound Barrier*. As a story about people, the film fails. Breaking the barrier is at best a victory for the spirit of capitalism—a victory the film achieves at the expense of the human spirit. But the behavior of an aircraft at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mach One is a different story altogether: that's the story Lean knew how to dramatize. The aerial photography and super-sound effects are so artfully handled that, as an episode in the history of technology, the film is still thrilling to watch. This is extraordinary when you consider how outdated that episode ought to seem now.

In Lean's films public events have always come off better than private lives. *Lawrence of Arabia* transcends his limitations only because its central character was himself a public event—a legend equal to the cinematic spectacle Lean could create. Like Lawrence's place in British history, that film has a somewhat fortuitous and exceptional place in Lean's career. Lean is a painter of historical and geographical landscapes. He simply doesn't work well in close-up. His weakest films—*Dr. Zhivago,* for instance—are the ones that place a romantic love in the foreground of his canvas. Because the element of romance is slight in them, *Bridge on the River Kwai* and his late-forties adaptations of Dickens are better than *Brief Encounter* (1945), despite that film's reputation.

With a running time of over three hours, *Ryan's Daughter* is no brief encounter. But it is, regrettably, a romance. Rosy Ryan (Sarah Miles) marries the local schoolteacher (Robert Mitchum), and immediately has her affections stolen by a shell-shocked British major (Christopher Jones) who's just returned from the Great War. Since Lean wants his love story to be modern, he concentrates on the carnal aspects of Rosy's infidelity. Her husband is impotent, or at least inadequate, while the otherwise somnambulent major is fiercely aggressive with her. But Lean wants the love affair to be old-fashioned too, so he mystifies his characters' sexual hang-ups. He tries to make his filmcraft poetic. The result is pure cinematic doggerel, especially in the sequence when the major first seduces Rosy. Here, as in other places, the film is laughable where it was intended to be moving.

The Irish Revolution makes occasional excursions to the village Lean had built for his film. But since that historical background is located primarily in Dublin, it's too far away to do the film much good. Only a fine performance by Trevor Howard revives our interest now and again. If only the peasant priest Howard plays were on the screen more often. . . . Still, the time-lapse photography of coastal weather conditions is very beautiful. And, oh yes, that storm is all synched up, as it should be, with lots of convincing boom and bluster.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

The many sides of the Chicago Conspiracy Trial

Trial

TOM HAYDEN

Holt, Rinehart, $4.95

The Great Conspiracy Trial

JASON EPSTEIN

Random House, $7.95

The Barnyard Epithet and Other Obscenities

J. ANTHONY LUKAS

Harper & Row, $4.95

ROBERT KUTTNER

A reading of the several books just out on the conspiracy trial evokes the conflicting emotions of my brief stay in Chicago as a correspondent for Pacifica Radio. Tom Hayden's *Trial* recalls the impression that the whole thing was rigged, whether by the rules of evidence or by the complicity of police, prosecution and judge. Jason Epstein's *The Great Conspiracy Trial* is the most ambitious book on the subject, placing the entire charade in cosmic perspective—something which one sought in vain through the daily surrealism. *The Barnyard Epithet and Other Obscenities*, by J. Anthony Lukas, brings back the sense which gripped me most firmly —uncertainty; doubt that any simple devil theory of the conspiracy trial would suffice: incomplete trust in one's own perceptions. For, as outrageous as the official side of the case was—the law itself, police spy infiltration, the parade permit negotiations or Judge Hoffman's hopelessly biased rulings—some of the evidence against the Eight seemed plainly incriminating. While Hoffman's Yippie Myth could not be taken literally except by the most obtuse of police agents, and no LSD was ever found in the Chicago water supply, some of Tom Hayden's serious utterances were more difficult to explain away. Was the rhetoric of revolution understandable hyperbole, or justifiable exhortation? Ultimately, a revolutionary is vindicated only by revolution. The police and prosecution chose to take the language literally, but how can a man's thoughts be inferred from subsequent events? J. Anthony Lucas writes:

> The more I talked with them, the more unsure I was just what they intended. All the demonstrators, of course, wanted to make an effective protest against the war, racism, and the unresponsiveness of the Demo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cratic party. But there were wide differences about whether an effective protest would be helped or hindered by confrontations in the street. On the one hand, violence or the threat of violence would frighten away many of the demonstrators the leaders hoped to attract. On the other hand, police action—especially if it was brutal, as it was almost bound to be in Chicago—was the best way of radicalizing people and pointing up the "repressiveness" of the state. Most of those I talked to saw both points and, I think, often vacillated between them.

The trial itself raised more questions than it answered, and a 'big' book on the subject is certainly to be welcomed: one which would place it in historical and legal perspective, and which would help to resolve the sense of contradiction and doubt which any but the most ideologically pure observer of the trial must have felt. Jason Epstein has endeavored to give us such a book, and he almost succeeds. There are patches of brilliant reportage in *The Great Conspiracy Trial.* Epstein is at his best when he chronicles what went on in the courtroom. But a reading of the transcript, available in several editions, accomplishes this nearly as well.

The Great Conspiracy Trial is a patchwork of courtroom reportage, flashbacks to the Movement of the '60s, long digressions into historical or literary metaphor, which fail as often as they succeed, and which occasionally seem like padding. There is some respectable legal exposition for a non-lawyer, ranging from the British Ordinance of Conspirators through the Star Chamber to a sketchy survey of First Amendment case law. In much of this, as in the sweeping generalizations about the spirit of the times and the evocations of Gibbon, Macaulay, Hawthorne, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, etc. (there is no index), the reader often gets the sense of an essayist having a field day with historical analogy and writing slightly over his head. This is compounded by some annoying petty errors. Bernadine Dohrn's name is consistently misspelled. The Federal Anti-Riot legislation which was popularly called the Rap Brown bill is termed the Stokely Carmichael bill, which would not be so significant, except that it serves as a transition into a lengthy discourse on Carmichael's influence on the Movement. Epstein misses the finale of an exchange between Allen Ginsberg and Judge Hoffman in which U.S. Attorney Foran objects to Ginsberg's harmonium as an object of "no conceivable materiality to this case" to which Ginsberg responds that "it adds *spirituality* to the case, sir." Epstein's account has Ginsberg introducing the spirituality out of the blue, and misses the pun, which was the high point of the day. And there is Dave Dellinger's "habitual brown tweed jacket," which Tony Lukas and I remember being green. Well, this is nit-picking, except that the little errors serve to reinforce the nagging sense that the book is slightly off the mark on the more important questions too, especially in its historical analogies. It is also a bit generous with stentorian pronouncements, e.g.:

> The struggle in Judge Hoffman's courtroom was rooted in disputes that attended the birth of America itself and perhaps even the birth of civilization.

Or:

> They [the defendants] would try to show that the ideals to which, in their opinion, this generation subscribed were the true and ancient ideals of the Republic, ideals that had been corrupted by the upsurging politicians who had, in the opinion of the defendants, indicted them in order to justify their illegitimate control of the nation's destiny and the cruel and greedy imposition of their debased civilization upon the people of the world.

Is the author speaking for himself, or trying to make the defendants sound pompous? While there is much of value in *The Great Conspiracy Trial,* Mr. Epstein the author might have been recommended to the tutelage of Mr. Epstein the editor.

J. Anthony Lukas, by contrast, has written a modest book, remarkable for its humility. Mr. Lukas sat through the entire trial as the *Times* correspondent; he might well have chosen to attempt a 'big' book, but instead has given us a pithy, epigrammatic impression of his own observations and mixed emotions. *The Barnyard Epithet and Other Obscenities* shuns grand pronouncements and instead paints the outrage and the ambiguity in delicate strokes. His sketches of the judge, the jury, the eight defendants, and the attorneys capture the detail and the essence of the trial as I remember it, husbanding language as a limited resource. Lukas also manages, with economy, to capture the little moments in and out of court which best place in perspective the larger issues of the trial. The book is essentially a journalist's memoir; it does not purport to resolve the ambiguities of the law or fathom the currents of history, but it brilliantly evokes those weeks in Judge Julius Hoffman's courtroom.

The first two-thirds of Hayden's book, *Trial,* offer a good synopsis of the defendants' view of the case and the world. Except for its final chapters, *Trial* is much more than the anticipated ideological tract, and contains more of the fine writing Hayden has shown in his *Rebellion in Newark.* With candor, he analyzes the division in the Movement and in the Conspiracy defense, shedding light on the developing ideology and the strategic considerations which propelled the defense onto the course which it ultimately took. In light of events since the verdict, Hayden's views of the Weathermen are especially worth having.

Each of these books adds something to our understanding of the trial. The great conspiracy will be placed in its proper historical context only by subsequent events. Nor has a lawyer's study of the growing use of conspiracy law by repressive government yet been written. I wholeheartedly share J. Anthony Lukas' observation that "the trial seemed to me such a momentous and complex event that a good book about it would only come within the perspective of years." In the meantime, the interested reader may consult one of the published transcript excerpts for dialogue, and Mr. Lukas' fine reflections for setting and mood.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Basic Symbols of the American Political Tradition

WILLMOORE KENDALL & GEORGE CAREY

Louisiana State U. Press, $6

GARRY WILLS

While Nixon returns the nation to its friable mood of the 1850's, he blithely looks ahead to 1976, to the nation's two hundredth birthday. He is confident he will preside, then, over the outcome of the Founders' work—he, the embodiment of the American dream, the succeeder.

It is appropriate that this castle of illusion is based on a misapprehension about the facts. The nation was not born in 1776. One might argue that it was born in 1781, when the colonies finally approved their confederation. Or perhaps in 1787, when the Constitution was drawn up. Or, more persuasively, in 1790, when the last of the original seceding colonies ratified that Constitution. All these have a better claim than the year 1776—even in the framework of thought that looks to the Revolutionary period for our origins. Yet that is a very questionable framework.

An air of the false, the overstated, the just-slightly-askew, afflicts all our national celebrations of nationhood. Our "Revolution" was not a revolution, but a secession, a war of colonial liberation. In 1776, thirteen colonies declared (on July 2, by the way, not July 4—there is a fuzziness everywhere in our national memory) their independence of the King, not (yet) their mode of dependence on each other.

Are these mere quibbles, unimportant to us now? The late Willmoore Kendall—that doomed attractive polymath—argued often that such things do matter; that a nation lives out of the symbols that give it a sense of *identity*, of self-awareness; that the "Revolutionary" symbols obscure more valid aspects of our tradition.

Perhaps Kendall's major statement of this position would have been a book adumbrated in five lectures given at Vanderbilt University in 1964. He died before he could rework and expand those lectures; but his student and collaborator, George Carey, has used other Kendall writings to fill in the argument and add three chapters to the original five. (Professor Carey is a scholar in his own right, independent and reflective; but he acts, here, as faithful recorder of the Kendall position, so far as that had been staked out—thus for convenience, I shall call the book and its argument Kendall's, after registering gratitude to Carey for his painstaking work of preservation.)

Kendall finds in the cult of 1776—of Jefferson's Declaration—the most serious "derailment" of American tradition. That document, loose in its rhetoric and hastily written (and rewritten) and adopted, was a propaganda flourish added to the legal act of secession, Richard Henry Lee's resolution, signed by eleven colonies on July 2 (South Carolina joined July 3, and New York on July 9). More important, Jefferson's Declaration provides an apparent basis in history for a large misreading of our past, one that makes "the American Revolution" revolutionary, born of the same doctrines as the French Revolution.

"We the people" are the first words of our Constitution. When did we become a people, aware of ourselves as such and therefore able to adopt the instruments for our self-rule? Our myth points to the Declaration as the moment of nascent self-awareness. We became a people by subscribing unanimously to certain philosophical axioms ("we hold these *truths to be self-evident*"). This is the Lincolnian reading of the matter—his famous words say the nation was born in 1776 "dedicated to the proposition" of the Declaration, and he justifies civil war as the test whether "a nation so dedicated" (to a proposition) can long endure. Kendall considers the assumptions implicit in Lincoln's "Fourscore and seven years ago" the institutionalizing words of our "heresies" about the past. He would have had Lincoln say, either "threescore and sixteen," going back to the Constitutional convention—or, even better, he would have pushed the birth date back beyond the Revolutionary period altogether.

It is Kendall's thesis that the Americans were a people from the outset, not mere separate and contiguous colonies; that there was a tradition of deliberative self-rule stated in the Mayflower Compact (1620); that other colonial charters of self-rule echoed characteristically American tenets from the Compact, and showed clear anticipations of the Constitution; that there is, naturally, a development of self-awareness traceable in such documents as The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639), the Massachusetts Body of Liberties (1641), the Virginia Bill of Rights (1776) and the Constitution (1787); that the Jeffersonian Declaration and the Constitution can be made to agree only insofar as the Declaration echoes (as it partially does) that longer tradition, and enters into it; that the Declaration therefore does not represent a departure, or break, or radically new beginning in American politics, and to interpret it this way is to obscure our true beginnings and distort the continuity within American experience. We do not know exactly when America was born, but we know approximately when—and if we must have a birthday in 1966, we had better put 350 candles on the cake than a mere 200.

There is much more in the book than this basic sketch of its argument would suggest—but most of that "more" is more dubious. Objection can be made both to Kendall's method and to his basic assumptions. The method is that of close textual analysis, borrowed from Leo Strauss; and the assumptions are those contained Eric Voegelin's concept of political "symbol." Yet the basic point Kendall has to make can be translated out of these particular "languages."

There are more serious objections, too. I would disagree with some of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the propositions Kendall includes within his "authentic" tradition—and indeed, with the very notion that our tradition is one that contains propositions we subscribe to. One trouble with the use made of Voegelin is that the language of "symbol" partially disguises the fact that Kendall is arguing for a set of traditional propositions. That is why he can offer the current myth and the genuine tradition as such clear-cut alternatives.

Despite Kendall's close reading of texts—or, perhaps, *because* he takes a New Criticism approach that discounts historical context—I think he misreads, in some measure, the Declaration, the Bill of Rights and the Federalist. But there is no room to pursue disagreements here. One has to answer Kendall in books—the mark of an important thinker.

Though Kendall was considered a scholar of the Right during his life —along with Strauss and Voegelin, to whom he is excessively deferential— he was out of place among rightwing politicians. He asked, ahead of time, many of the same questions "radical" scholars are just now attending to. What are the sources of legitimacy, the possibilities of nondoctrinal unity, the roots of community, the things that make a nation one people? The old liberal answers—subscription to a Lockean contract, Lincolnian dedication to a proposition, Wilsonian self-determination—have lost their credibility and grip. So bright young men like Robert Paul Wolff are taking altogether new approaches—which makes them sound, at times, remarkably like Willmoore Kendall. They have—we all have—some important things to learn from him. For if we do not learn more about the processes of our national formation, we may be compelled to witness its stages of dissolution.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

ROBERT KUTTNER is program director at Station WBAI in New York.

GARRY WILLS is the author of the recently published *Nixon Agonistes* (Houghton, Mifflin).

PHILIP DEASY teaches in the English Department at St. Peter's College in New Jersey.

FATHER JAY P. DOLAN is presently teaching in the Department of Theology at the University of San Francisco.

Strange Voyage

MARC ORAISON

Doubleday, $5.95

PHILIP DEASY

Since Marc Oraison's difficulties with the Holy Office have already received international attention (including a long account in a Sunday issue of the *New York Times*) readers of *Strange Voyage,* Father Oraison's autobiography, may be understandably impatient that the author takes so long to come to that dramatic part of his life. The delay is highlighted because the book is subtitled "The Autobiography of a Non-Conformist," and until the confrontation with Rome the non-conformity is hardly evident. When, more than halfway through the book, the young priest, then in Rome for an international congress discussing theology and psychoanalysis, receives his summons to appear before the Holy Office, the action noticeably quickens. It adds to the interest to be told that Father Oraison's presence in Rome had been reported by the Office's secret police.

The time was April, 1953, the Saturday of Easter Week. The reason for the summons was Father Oraison's doctoral dissertation, *Christian Life and Problems of Sexuality*, which had been published the year before. In that work the priest, who had his medical degree before entering the seminary, had interpreted moral theology in the light of medical study and Freudian psychology. From the time of publication the book had aroused controversy, culminating in one cardinal's request that the Holy Office render a decision on the book's orthodoxy.

Promptly answering his summons, Father Oraison was given the decision by Cardinals Pizzardo and Ottaviani. To them the book was pernicious and subversive and, in any case, unnecessary. "For purity in the seminaries," Cardinal Pizzardo told the young priest, "we need fear, spaghetti, and beans." The decision to place the work on the Index of Forbidden Books was not to be publicized, but a second edition of the dissertation was to be prepared eliminating all errors. A year later, just after the revised work was sent to Rome, the book was officially and publicly placed on the Index. The author never received even an acknowledgement of the "corrected manuscript" he had sent.

That decision freed Father Oraison for non-conformity, or, as he says, "My career was launched, my real work was about to start." That real work was to take him into the seminaries of France to conduct psychological tests to determine fitness for the priesthood and to help break down those seminary structures and customs that had long seemed to him, even in his own seminary days, perversions of reality. The work was further to bring him "clients," people of all descriptions suffering from psychological, or sexual or spiritual problems, who would come to his Paris apartment for help. When, after orders from Rome, his activities with the seminaries were banned, he was to take up the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents—boys in their late teens deprived of normal family life. It was with one of these boys, André, "the Moustache," that he had the touching "father-son" relationship he movingly describes in the latter part of the book. In the past few years he has been speaking regularly, and participating in discussions on radio and television. That effective way of bringing Christ to millions particularly appeals to him.

The early chapters of *Strange Voyage* include an account of Father Oraison's gifted parents, the unostentatiously religious upbringing they provided for him, his early schooling and the decision to become, like his father, a urological surgeon. It is as a medical student at the University of Bordeaux during the war years of the German occupation that the seeds of the later

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

convictions that were to set him apart are sown. Always there is the profound faith in Christ, "the center of my life," the Christology which permeates the whole autobiography, but at the same time the questioning of the church as wholly an ecclesiastical organization and the distinguishing between "priest" and "cleric." Years later as a priest he was to call the wearing of the cassock a ridiculous custom and to shock his brother-priests by stating publicly that to regain a true sense of Christ's priesthood, one must "de-clergify" that priesthood.

His decision at the age of twenty-eight, and only a few months after receiving his license as a urologist, to become a priest, is surprising. More surprisingly his first desire is to become a Carthusian monk. One week in a Carthusian monastery changes that. Next comes a trial with the Dominicans, and after ten months of novitiate at Toulouse, he decides that while he still wants the priesthood, the religious life is not for him. So it is on to the Institut Catholique at Paris, where he will eventually be ordained a priest of the diocese of Bordeaux in October, 1948, at the age of thirty-four. Before the ordination there is a year's service with the army Medical Corps in the Far East.

The highlights of Father Oraison's intellectual life receive eloquent emphasis throughout *Strange Voyage*. To be singled out are the discovery of Daniel-Rops and his Biblical insights during the Dominican novitiate, complemented by the courses in Old Testament exegesis at the seminary and Father Danielou's history of the first centuries of the Christian era. Perhaps above all else was the discovery of psychoanalysis, which unexpectedly enough, came through the seminary course in moral theology when the teacher asked Father Oraison to give two lectures on sexual physiology. This was the discovery that gave the seminarian an "absolutely new perspective," an "intellectual revolution that completely upset, unexpectedly and beneficially, my concept of man and, naturally, of myself." The discovery would also decrease even more his already slight respect for scholastic philosophy and formal theology. More emphatically, Father Oraison states in his concluding pages, "Everything I have lived during the last twenty years, as clarified in the light of psychoanalysis, has led me to question many things. In all good conscience, I can say that my faith in Christ and the church, in the real sense of the latter word, has been progressively stripped of many debatable elements and has been singularly deepened." It is as a record of that deepening of faith that *Strange Voyage* has its strongest and most convincing appeal.

A History of the Catholic Church in the United States

THOMAS T. McAVOY

Univ. of Notre Dame Press, $14

JAY P. DOLAN

Until his sudden death in 1969 Father Thomas T. McAvoy had devoted some 40 years of life to research, writing and teaching in the area of American Catholicism. As the archivist of the University of Notre Dame he had also gathered together a wealth of source material in American Catholic history and mainly because of his efforts the Notre Dame library has one of the largest and best organized collection of documents in the area of American Catholicism. His last work was a one-volume history of Catholicism in America from the founding of Maryland in 1634 to the post-Vatican II era.

The first chapters of the book focus on the prolonged struggle of Catholics to gain religious toleration in a predominantly Protestant country. In his treatment of 19th-century American Catholicism the author tells the story in terms of growth and conflict. Immigration had increased the number of Catholics in the U.S. and with the rise of Catholic power the strident voices of anti-Catholicism eventually became a force to be reckoned with. The issue of slavery and the Civil War, however, momentarily checked the anti-Catholic crusade. In the later decades of the century conflict for American Catholics was chiefly an internal struggle. German Catholics were challenging the dominant position of the Irish in the church while other groups, eagerly seeking to adapt Roman Catholicism to the American culture, met with opposition from more conservative forces. As the church entered the 20th century, conflict subsided and the Catholic population continued to grow. The advent of World War I brought forth an ambitious social program within the church, and this concern, together with education, highlighted the period between the two world wars. In the opinion of the author, the election of

To Serve the Lord in Faith and Understanding

THE CATHOLIC SEMINARY of Indianapolis, O.S.B. offers a program of Theological Education and Training in Ministry to Catholic men and women preparing for ordained or lay Christian ministry. Ecumenical, Urban, Creative orientation. Scholarships available. Placement service.

Write to: The Dean, Catholic Seminary of Indianapolis, O.S.B. 4545 Northwestern Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana 46208.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

Special Interest _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John F. Kennedy symbolically manifested the acceptance of Catholics by the majority of non-Catholic America, but the Second Vatican Council created new types of conflict for the American Catholic community.

One theme which continually emerges in the work of Father McAvoy is the quest for unity within the American Catholic church. The attempts at unity in the provincial and plenary councils of the 19th century, the establishment of a federation of Catholic societies and the founding of the National Catholic Welfare Council all pointed in this direction. The unity so devoutly hoped for, has never been achieved. American Catholics today are about as homogeneous as the rest of American society.

Despite Father McAvoy's wide range of knowledge in American Catholic history and despite some creative moments of interpretation, the book itself suffers from the lack of any intrinsic unity. At times, the more exciting episodes in American Catholicism appear to be nothing more than one insignificant fact after another, linked together in chronological sequence. There is also a continuous repetition of events to the extent that both Bing Crosby and Stan Musial are mentioned twice as examples of prominent Catholics. Not even Father Theodore Hesburgh, the President of Notre Dame, merited such distinction.

A reading of Father McAvoy's book, as well as a survey of the index, indicates that his principal points of reference were the hierarchy. The story of 19th century Catholicism was related principally through the activities of Archbishops John Carroll, Ambrose Maréchal, Martin J. Spalding and James Cardinal Gibbons. In the chapters on the church in the 20th century the pastoral letters of the American hierarchy dominated the narrative. Furthermore, American Catholicism appears as an Eastern-Midwestern and Irish-German coalition. Little attention was given by the author to the other ethnic groups prominent in American Catholicism and the western dimension of the church is scarcely mentioned. This lack of perspective, as well as an unbalanced emphasis on the episcopal leaders of the church, raises the basic question of how to write a history of Catholicism in America.

Historians today are rethinking the past in the light of the present, and this is as true of American Catholic historians as it is with historians in other areas of church history. The most recent volume of *Concilium. (Church History in Future Perspective)* edited by Roger Aubert, is an example of such revisionism taking place among church historians. The questions now asked of the past reflect the theological awareness of the church as people of God. The development of the social sciences has also contributed to the new awakening among church historians, again influenced by a similar revisionism among historians in general.

Once the church is viewed as a community of believers, the historian has thrust upon him the task of reinterpreting the past according to this conceptual framework. New questions have to be asked, and new research has to be done. In his trip into the past the historian carries with him not only a new awareness of the church, but also a bag of new tools to help him in his work, Sociology, in particular, which furnishes new techniques to rediscover the past as well as new concepts around which to gather the material.

With a de-emphasis on the institutional character of the church, the historian is more inclined to study the phenomenon of religion itself. New areas of interest arise—popular piety, sermons and the various manifestations of religion within the community. The necessity of comparative religious history emerges; historians must explain not only the uniqueness of American Catholicism, but also the characteristics it has in common with other American religions.

The work of Father McAvoy does not reflect this new thrust in historical studies. His image of the church is hierarchal. The social aspect of the church as a community of believers is strikingly absent. One puts the book down without having ever learned what it was like to have been a Catholic in 19th-century America. The piety of the people is seldom described in detail. The rural and urban environment in which the people lived is left to the reader's imagination. For the professional historian the book does have its merits. The general audience can pass it by.

CANTERBURY ECUMENICAL SUMMER SCHOOL
England, July 17-29, 1971
Low in cost; outstanding lecturers. Excellent accomodations at Christ Church College in the cathedral's shadow. Ideal "mini-sabbatical" for priests, teachers, laymen.
Optional Cathedral Cities Tour
Write for prospectus:
CANTESS
209 Greeves St.; Kane, Pa. 16735

GIVE COMMONWEAL
FOR CHRISTMAS

SEE ORDER FORM ON page 309

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 291)

sive use of the legislative power of the FBI, and to make a dramatic manifestation of our repudiation of terrorism both by the Left and by the government. Finally we wish to show our determination to work for change through persuasion and reasoned confrontation with the issues. Nothing less than a transformation of consciousness and a rededication to constitutional ideals and human values can save this country from a very dangerous turn toward total destruction of liberty and hope both at home and around the world.

We call on you to respond to this and arouse your friends and colleagues to do likewise. As a service of national rededication, we plan to hold a 24-hour fast-vigil in front of the Justice Department, December 18-19. We will assemble at a near-by church (to be announced) at 4 p.m. Friday and march from there in solemn procession to the Justice Department where we will com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mission the fasters with laying on of hands. At 3 p.m. the following day there will be a concluding celebration of the Eucharist, led by a broad spectrum of church and civic leaders. We call on you to come and bring others to participate in some or all of these events and to join us in this rededication to solidarity, resistance to oppression and commitment to authentic social values.

DAVID KIRK
Director, Emmaus House
ROSEMARY RUETHER
Theologian, Howard University
RICHARD MCSORLEY, S.J.
Georgetown University

Science and Steinfels

New Haven, Conn.

To the Editors: I would like to note that, I am sure unintentionally, Peter Steinfels misquotes me in "Is Science Stoppable?" [Oct. 2]. I had said something like "rarely will so many be bothered . . . to save so little time for so few on any one day," or words to that effect. The qualification "on any one day" is important, because according to the Department of Transportation's forecast, something like 20 or 30 million people will be flying across the ocean annually, most of them, according to DOT, in SST's. I do not in the least mean to impugn Mr. Steinfels' careful argument. It just goes to show how specific one has to be to avoid misunderstanding.

HENRY C. WALLICH
Professor of Economics
Yale University

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: For the public the distinction between science and technology grows fainter with each announcement of another technical or medical breakthrough. Even scientists, usually very jealous of science's image, can be heard saying there is no real difference between them, that science and technology have become so mutually supportive and employ such methods of analysis that for all practical purposes they may be considered as one.

Yet it is important that the distinction between them be made, not only because it is very real but to avoid the mental confusion that usually beclouds any discussion of the consequences of science and technology in which the differences between them are not understood. A case in point is Peter Steinfels' commentary "Is Science Stoppable?" [October 2]. Troubled by the issue of "genetic engineering" raised at a conference he attended on "The Future of the Family in the '70s" he writes: "In the long run, we must face the issue of the stoppability of science and technology, and I would propose a National Stoppability Task Force to investigate whether science is stoppable at all, under any conditions, and if it is, then exactly how is the miracle accomplished."

Yes, it would take a miracle to stop science, one that would end man's insatiable curiosity about the natural world and himself. Short of destroying mankind it would require the transformation of men into something other than what they are. Science is nothing more or less than an organized attempt to gain new knowledge about nature. It is a grand game of puzzle-solving that calls for creativity and hardheaded playfulness to wheedle out of chaos an ordered bit of understanding. The fascination of science is enormous, and men and women who have the calling will not be deterred by lack of research funds or material rewards. They were not in the past and there is no reason to think they will be in the future.

Technology, however, is another matter. The application of scientific knowledge to solve particular problems of a technological kind is very much influenced by economic, political, and social factors. Curiosity may be enough to sustain the basement inventor, but large-scale technology without the usual incentives offered in industrial society is out of the question. Technology can be controlled if the people who develop it and use it care to do so. Technology can even be stopped if the economic and social incentives are removed. For example, Dr. Herbert York has shown in his important book *Race to Oblivion*

COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10016

Please send these friends gift subscriptions at the special Christmas Rates: 1 Subscription, $12; each additional, $9 (Add $2 for postage outside U.S. and Canada)

MY NAME IS
Street
City, State, Zip 12/18/70

Name
Street
City, State, Zip
New ☐ Renewal ☐

Name
Street
City, State, Zip
New ☐ Renewal ☐

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commonweal

232 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK NY 10016 : MU 32042

Dear Commonweal Reader:

The kind of letters publishers must compose are frequently on the grim side: requests for money, reminders of overdue subscriptions, explanations of why we cannot use a certain article. That is why it is a pleasure, one of the pleasures the Christmas season brings, to compose a note suggesting how you can do your friends, yourselves, and Commonweal a favor at one time.

A gift subscription to Commonweal is a Christmas gift which, week by week, will provide thoughtful and lively insights on politics, religion, literature, the arts. The friend or relative who receives it will be grateful, not just at Christmas but throughout the year, for the stimulating views of contributors who range from U.S. Senators to campus dissenters, from black militants to bishops.

You will be grateful -- for a gift you can give within minutes of reading this letter, a gift you can easily send to someone far away, the gift for at least one person on your Christmas shopping list.

And we will be grateful. Every new subscription helps us continue what often seems like a Sisyphean effort: to build a more substantial base and a wider audience for the kind of open discussion we know is so crucial for both nation and church.

Don't forget you may combine your Christmas gift order with a renewal of your own subscription, regardless of its present expiration, and thus get full benefit of the season's bargain rates.

My warmest greetings and best wishes for Christmas.

Forms on reverse side.

Edward S. Skillin

Publisher

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the nuclear arms race was not the result of unstoppable technology but the conscious decision of men driven by fear or personal aggrandizement. The incentives of money and power, with the fear of the Soviet Union as a catalyst, generated a huge defense industry committed to developing a technology of terror and in the process deformed our economy, inverted our priorities, and undermined our universities. Without those incentives weapons technology would not have developed in the cancerous way it has.

Mr. Steinfels asks: "Has there been a *single* example of scientific research abandoned — when it was producing good results—because of moral reservations about its consequences?" The question is meaningless because there is nothing moral or immoral about science, that is, knowledge about nature. There can only be moral consequences in the *application* of that knowledge. If Mr. Steinfels changed the phrase "scientific research" to technological research his question would be significant. While it would be difficult to answer the question other than with a no, there are examples of scientists who refused to work on weapons projects or to make available their investigations to those working on them. This is not to deny the force of Mr. Steinfels' point. Technology has been developed and used without regard for its implications all too frequently, in fact most of the time. We desperately need to develop a moral and social philosophy of technology and to make it a fundamental part of education.

In the meantime, however, it is important not to confuse science and technology if for no other reason than to help make our ideas clear. Otherwise we are doomed to wrestle with confusion like that inherent in the metaphor "genetic engineering." Genetics is the study of the mechanisms of heredity, but we are nowhere near and may never be able to manipulate or engineer the genetic material as implied by this metaphor. By all means let us consider the moral and social implications of artificial insemination or ova implantation or diagnoses of genetic diseases in human embryos, but let us not frighten ourselves and confuse serious issues by talking about "genetic engineering" as if it is a possibility in the Brave-New-World sense. The incredible complexity of the human genetic code, which involves millions of units, may be as insurmountable an obstacle to "engineering" as the enormous distances in space are to intergalactic travel.

HAROLD FRUCHTBAUM
Associate, Institute for the Study of Science in Human Affairs
Columbia University

Reply: I apologize to Mr. Wallich and I thank Mr. Fruchtbaum for his very thoughtful comments. I suspect that on the concrete questions facing us, he and I are in close agreement.

Nevertheless, while I accept the distinction between science and technology in order "to help make our ideas clear," for the very same reason I cannot accept Mr. Fruchtbaum's suggestion that the problem of "stoppability" applies only to the latter and not to the former.

First, science and the application of science are often intertwined in practice. Medical research, for example, may require application in the process of research, e.g., experimentation on humans. If one really believes that man's right to know about nature is absolute, then ethical questions arising from such applications are always prejudged.

Second, in certain cases the step between scientific knowledge and its application is so difficult to control that deterrence will take place at the research stage if at all. E.g., a substance like LSD which can be made in a home laboratory.

Third, much scientific research is directed to quite specific ends; the spin-off value, though a common alibi, is often slight. If these ends are judged unworthy, why not cut off research at an early stage rather than wait to the moment of application? Why be half-safe? True, the "basement inventor" may continue working. Let him. He does not really worry me.

Fourth, it is simply not true that science, as distinct from technology, is some cerebral activity which goes forward in whatever direction "man's insatiable curiosity" takes it, regardless of the economic, social, and political priorities of a society. Science, no less than technology, is *currently* deterred from some types of research, and guided into others, according to the needs of the military, the U.S. budget or private industry. I only propose that some other, wider considerations enter into the choices.

I cannot really fault Mr. Fruchtbaum's phrases like "man's insatiable curiosity" and "knowledge about nature"; but I feel he is describing the science which exists in the introductory chapter of science textbooks, while I am concerned with the science that involves all-too-human humans, contracts, funding, etc. If for no other reason than to challenge the mystique which tends to unburden science of the responsibility for consequences which weighs on other areas of endeavor, I stand by my original formulation.

PETER STEINFELS

Princeton Gestalt Center

We cover your inner "ground" in the spontaneity of an I-and-Thou Here-and-Now Encounter group. Join a Gestalt weekend of sensitivity training, meditation and exploration of role playing, with Esalen leaders.

Winter Schedule:

DECEMBER 18-20; JANUARY 15-17; (Focus on marital games); MARCH 6-8; APRIL 3-5.

Write: DAN SULLIVAN, Cherry Valley Road, Princeton, N.J. 08540. Phone: 609-921-6958

Classified

• RATES: 50¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines: $3.00 a line. Discounts: 5%, 3 times; 10%, 7 times; 15%, 13 times. Payable with order.

Encounters

• OPPORTUNITY to explore self-defeating attitudes, feelings and untapped potential. Weekend workshops in Los Angeles and Bass Lake, $25. BILL VON DER AHE, Bass Lake, California 93604.

Journal

• Current issue, JOURNAL OF PASTORAL COUNSELING: Values in Religious Therapy, Body Movement, Psychosynthesis, etc. Two issues per year, $5 subscription. Dept. C, JOURNAL OF PASTORAL COUNSELING, Iona College, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

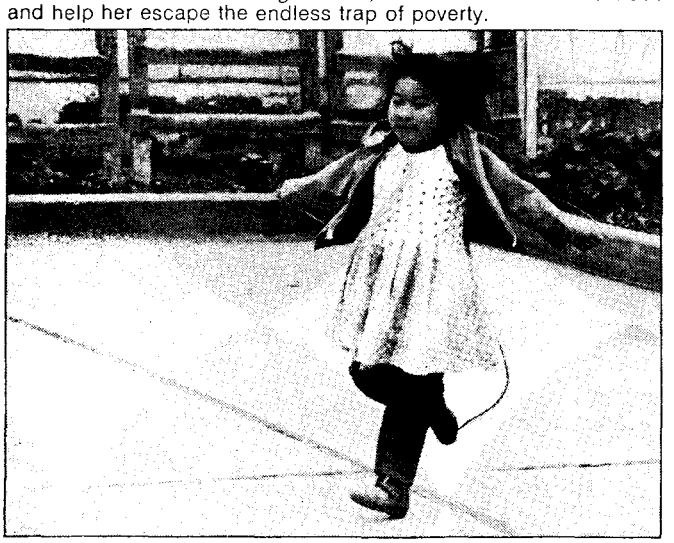
This is why 600,000 people have become Foster Parents.

This is Roxanna Diaz. She needs a Foster Parent to save her from a world of hunger and fear. A Foster Parent who can share her new world of hope because he alone has helped make it possible.

The Foster Parents of this child know that without their contribution of $16 a month Kang Choong, his brothers and sisters might never have gone to school.

If it weren't for this child's Foster Parents, her own mother would have no one to turn to for guidance, no one to teach her a trade and help her escape the endless trap of poverty.

Elana Castilla and her family would probably never see a doctor. Never receive the medical care, health counseling and vitamins they need to survive.



And Chui Mei could never write to say thank you, I love you, to her Foster Parents because her life would never offer her anything to be thankful for.

Foster Parents Plan International Headquarters
352 Park Ave. South • N.Y., N.Y. 10010

I want to be a Foster Parent for one year or more of a boy ☐ girl ☐ age___ country_____. No preference ☐ (This allows us to choose a child on our emergency list). Payment of $16 per month for one year will be made: *monthly* ☐ *quarterly* ☐ *semi-annually* ☐ annually ☐. I enclose herewith my first payment $_____.

I would like to receive more information ☐

I want to be a contributor. I enclose $_____ for the General Fund.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____Date_____

Make checks payable to Foster Parents Plan. All contributions are income tax deductible. PLAN operates in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, and Viet Nam. PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, independent organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Comm. on Vol. For. Aid of the Agency for Int'l. Developm't.

COM-12-70

Be a Foster Parent. There's a child and his family somewhere who might not make it without you.

When someone somewhere cares, someone somewhere survives.

412

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED